

PEACE NEWS

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1940 NEED NOT BE A YEAR OF WAR

**STOP THE
SACRIFICE
OF YOUTH
TO WAR!**

A British Peace Offer Now Can Avert Ruin For All

THE opening of the New Year has found two wars raging in Europe, and the grim prospect of hostilities on an even wider scale.

Statesmen, while paying lip-service to the ideal of closer co-operation between the nations, say we must achieve "victory" first. Last time their "victory" sowed the seeds from which Europe is again reaping a harvest of death.

In the following article Dr. Alfred Salter, MP, asks why we should go on shedding blood, and bringing the likelihood of world war ever nearer, when the possibilities of mediation remain untried. To envisage 1940 as a year of war is to admit a bankruptcy of all constructive ideas. Europe's millions still hope that this year will bring peace, with all its opportunities of real progress.

Let all who share that hope seek to give it full expression and, in Dr. Salter's words, "work for a speedy peace with all our might and main!" That is our task for 1940; this article shows that it is not an impossible one.

By Dr. ALFRED SALTER, M.P.

THE crazy war still goes on.

The reconciling spirit of Christmas has left the hearts of Governments untouched. The wholesale destruction of human life appears to count for nothing compared with national prestige. Gallant airmen and sailors go to their deaths and more and yet more continue to be sent to their doom. Even "the terrifying cost" (to quote Sir John Simon) of carrying on the war indefinitely fails to influence the decision of our rulers "to smash the enemy" whatever happens. Neither the plight of the small neutrals, the starvation of civilians nor the approaching ruin of Europe seems to weigh with the Governments of Britain and France.

It is clear that our ruling classes are out for such a decisive victory that they will be able to dictate a Peace Treaty to Germany as in 1919.

Why do these two Capitalist Govern-

ments want a dictated peace and not a negotiated peace?

During the last war the then Prime Minister proclaimed to the world: "As the Lord liveth we covet not one square yard of territory belonging to the enemy." But at that very time he was engaged in making Secret Treaties by which the Allies (which then included Czarist Russia) arranged to divide the world between themselves. Actually we seized not one square yard but several millions of square miles of lands formerly the possessions of Germany.

President Wilson of America who wanted a Peace Treaty based on justice and conciliation and one that would not result in another war in a few years' time, went back home from Versailles broken-hearted, leaving the victorious Allies squabbling over the spoils. He foretold what would happen.

The present war is the outcome of those monstrous Treaties dictated to the vanquished in 1919-20. They left Europe in a ferment that has persisted ever since.

Now it would appear that we are preparing to do something equally vicious again.

World War Next?

Increasing numbers of people want to see the war stopped and peace negotiations opened up at once. There is a growing conviction that if hostilities go on the whole world will gradually become involved in the struggle. There is more than a likelihood that country after country will be engulfed in the catastrophe—with unforeseeable consequences. It is probable that the Russo-Finnish war would never have happened if we had accepted the mediation of the Queen of Holland and the King of the Belgians.

Mr. Chamberlain has told us that the Government's preparations are for a three years' war. The military authorities talk about at least a two years' struggle. The

(Continued on back page.)



"For What?" —from the painting by Elbert M. Jackson

The prominent magazine illustrator who painted this picture did so as a contribution to the Emergency Peace Campaign in the United States. He wanted to warn his countrymen against the sacrifice of youth demanded by war.

That was some time ago. Now we in Europe are actually at war, and the young men are being conscripted in every country. . . . "For What?"

For freedom from aggression, for self-defence, say the rulers. But there is no sign that this war, any more than the last, will be successful in achieving these aims. The ideals for which youth is told to fight are only too likely to be forgotten.

Youth has a vital part to play in the shaping of the new order that must be built sooner or later. And for that part, given the right lead, it will not need to be conscripted in its millions.

The first step to building that new order, and to harnessing the idealism and energy of youth, is to make now the bold bid for peace which Dr. Alfred Salter advocates in the article on this page.

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DR. ALFRED SALTER

Pacifist Commentary, . . . edited by "Observer"

"Build a New World Order—or Perish" :: Self-Delusion of an Anti-Fascist

TRUE to form, Mr. H. G. Wells has provided material for a controversy in his book, *The New World Order*, published on Monday by Secker and Warburg (6s.).

Readers of this commentary will recall that on November 10, I quoted the Declaration of Rights drawn up by Mr. Wells and a few friends, which had been included in a letter to *The Times*.

This finds development in the book, in which he declares that we must "forge a new world order by a World Revolution—or perish among the spreading chaos."

"This new and complete Revolution can be defined in a very few words," he writes. "It is: (a) Outright world-Socialism, scientifically planned and directed, plus

(b) A sustained insistence upon law, law based on a fuller, more jealously conceived statement of the personal Rights of Man, plus

(c) The completest freedom of speech, criticism and publication and a sedulous expansion of the educational organization to meet the ever-growing demands of the new order. Putting it at its compactest, it is the triangle of Socialism, Law and Knowledge which frames the Revolution which may yet save the world."

Mr. Wells declares that the present war does not touch the essential problem, the abolition of distance. He declares, with truth, that the war "may, indeed, destroy everything and still settle nothing."

Perhaps that is why he has no "War Aims" for the Allies, only "Peace Aims."

The Alternative

THROUGHOUT the book he stresses the urgent need for tackling the job of re-making the world, and points out that the alternative is the extinction of the human race.

He is impatient with those who talk of ending the war and then having a world conference to inaugurate the new order.

"So soon as the fighting stops," he writes, "the real world conference, the live discussion, will stop too. The diplomats and politicians will assemble with an air of profound competence and close the doors upon the outer world and resume—Versailles."

Pacifists will agree with him that this would be the supreme tragedy—an admission that experience had taught us nothing. Many will also be sympathetic to his suggestion that, to achieve world

collectivization after the peoples have agreed to tackle the problem, there should be a confession of universal thinking and wrong-doing.

But clearly the primary need is to stop the war before it results in "the real world conference, the live discussion," being suppressed by the growth of totalitarianism; and to awaken the mass of the people to the need for reorganizing the world. The responsibility for that rests primarily upon those who have already seen that need.

Pacifist Catholics

A ROMAN CATHOLIC writes:—

In the October, 1939, issue of *The Nineteenth Century and After*, Mr. Reginald Dingle set out to try to demonstrate to its readers that Roman Catholicism and 'conscientious objection' are incompatible and to discredit the 'Pax' peace society. Under the title *War and the Catholic Conscience*, this article is now in circulation as a pamphlet.

"A reading of various 'Pax' and other statements shows that Mr. Dingle's reply is inadequate and unconvincing, and only two observations need be made on it here. Since the present war started a book called *Morality and War*, by Father Gerald Vann, O.P., has been published (Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 3s. 6d.).

Father Vann is not a member of 'Pax,' but he puts forward what is in fact the 'Pax' position as a permissible and reasonable one for a Catholic to hold. Since this book is published with the permission of the Archbishop of Westminster and of Father Vann's own superior, it would appear that the 'Pax' people are not such 'intellectual curiosities' and 'eccentrics' as Mr. Dingle would have us believe.

"As for Catholics and conscientious objection, it is well known that in the USA at the present time, responsible Catholic clergy are urging the faithful to unite in refusal on conscientious grounds to fight in the present war should their Government enter into it short of a direct, certain and immediate threat to the shores of America. Among these clergy are the Archbishop of Cincinnati, the Jesuit editors of *America*, the Paulist editors of the *Catholic World*, and Mgr. G. B. O'Toole, of the Catholic

University at Washington. The last named is specially strongly opposed to conscription, which he stigmatizes as 'undoubtedly slavery, and slavery of the most degraded type'."

Effect of Propaganda

HARRY POLLITT'S "Declaration" in the *Daily Worker* of November 23—which was made to explain why, after supporting the war, he had ceased to do so—is worth recalling for an interesting moral which it contained.

Mr. Pollitt said:

"My hatred of Fascism had developed by five years' intensive anti-Fascist propaganda, which led to a position where I did not see in time the true role of British imperialism, and saw only German Fascism as the main enemy of the British working-class movement."

This is, of course, a splendid justification of those who refused to identify themselves with one-sided "anti-fascist" campaigns. After all, if the Chief Medicine Man was poisoned by his own Ju-Ju in spite of all his knowledge of training, what hopes had the man in the street, who lapped it up and didn't know the correct antidote?

"Magnificent Piece of Writing"

GOVERNMENTS and individuals conformed to the rhythm of the tragedy, and swayed and staggered forward in helpless violence, slaughtering and squandering on ever-increasing scales, till injuries were wrought to the structure of human society which a century will not efface, and which may conceivably prove fatal to the present civilization.

"... mankind was not to escape so easily from the catastrophe in which it had involved itself. Pride was everywhere to be humbled and nowhere to receive its satisfaction. No splendid harmony was to crown the wonderful achievements. No prize was to reward the sacrifices of the combatants.

"Victory was to be bought so dear as to be almost indistinguishable from defeat.

"It was not even to give security to the victors. There never was to be 'the silence following great words of peace.' To the convulsions of the struggle must succeed the impotent turmoil of the aftermath. Noble hopes, high comradeship and glorious daring were in every nation to lead only to disappointment, disillusion and prostration.

"The sufferings and impoverishment of people might arrest their warfare, the collapse of the defeated might still the cannonade, but their hatred continues unappeased and their quarrels are still unsettled.

"The most complete victory ever gained in arms has failed to solve the European problem or remove the dangers which produced the war."

"I think it is a magnificent piece of writing," said Councillor W. G. Veals after quoting the above at a meeting of the Luton branch of the No-Conscription League. "The ideas and arguments it contains should be used by all pacifists. Especially in view of the course.

"The quotation is from a book written after the last war. The title is *The World Crisis* and the author is Winston Churchill!"

What They Said About War . . .

No. 6

"Another great war would extinguish what is left of the civilization of the world, and the glory of Europe would sink for uncounted generations into the abyss."

—Winston Churchill in *The Times*, September 25, 1936.

. . . Is Still True

First of a Series of MONTHLY COMMENTS

by Lord Ponsonby

IN these comments I shall probably not be educative or instructive, but rambling and reflective. I try, like everyone else, not to think about the war in all my waking hours. But even if I refused to read a newspaper and for one day managed to dismiss the subject from my mind it would penetrate into my head and further disturb my whirling thoughts in the uncomfortable time when one is trying to go to sleep and can't.

I wonder how other people, not engaged in it, regard the war in their imagination. I see a map over which I hover; the forces ranged against one another I can visualize vaguely—men dropping from the sky, men drowning from blown-up ships, and in the distance statesmen watching and wondering, and in holes and corners pressmen waiting for a good headline.

Sailors, soldiers and airmen do not attempt to see the whole picture—they are far too deeply absorbed in the job in hand. Conscientious objectors bullied or isolated in prison are not the least tragic part of this hideous panorama.

I AM often left wondering whether the news I read is quite true. For instance in a newspaper of December 18 there were large headlines on the scuttling of the Admiral Graf Spee outside Montevideo. A line in the largest type ran: "Crew saved: Captain goes down with ship." A few days later it was reported that Captain Langsdorff had gone to Buenos Ayres and committed suicide in an hotel. This sort of mistake on easily ascertainable facts must make one suspicious of the authenticity of any report one reads.

We are told not to rely on any report published in Germany (I don't mean comments by Goebbels), and no doubt they are unreliable. But this sort of pot and kettle argument leaves the ordinary public utterly confused. I am inclined to agree with a Turkish pier-master on the Bosphorus years ago. I went up to him in indignation and pointed at the time-table to show that the steamer had left before its proper time. He smiled benignly and said: "You should never believe what you see in print."

I THINK it is a mistake to confine oneself only to reading war and peace books. I find they more exasperate than help one. I wish some people would read a bit more history and more especially study a good historical atlas so as to learn how incessantly in past centuries frontiers of nations have been changed, nations have disappeared and nations have been born, in consequence of war. It would give them a better sense of proportion.

But I always have one or two what I may call "escapist" books going. They get me right away off the subject. I don't mean only detective books, although I can seldom resist the latest one by the Coles, but old favourites. Mrs. Henry Wood, for instance, the author of *East Lynne*. I have just been reading *Lord Oakburn's Daughters*. A critic wrote of this book: "She plays havoc with legal procedure, the elementary laws of evidence, medical etiquette and the usages of high life. She is the essence of Victorian melodrama; but she can tell a story inimitably." So I found.

LAST month I gave the first prize to the Bishop of Southampton for his letter in *The Times*. He is one of those Churchmen who, failing to get repentance from someone with whom he disagrees, is bent on punishment. It would do him good to spend a weekend with the Bishop of Chichester.

Truth in Wartime

ONE 'eye-witness' did come forward—a soldier who signed an affidavit swearing that he had seen angels at Mons. The JP described him as 'a very sound, intelligent man.'

Ten days later the same JP announced with regret that he had found out that this soldier had, in fact, been in England throughout the battle of Mons.

—William Hickey in the *Daily Express*, December 28.

J. Middleton Murry on the FAILURE OF RUSSIAN "COMMUNISM"

IT is salutary, but a little galling, to be compelled to eat one's words. I have a distinct memory of writing not many weeks ago (though not in these pages) that Russia was the most "inherently pacific" of modern nations. Now I have to acknowledge, ruefully, that there was nothing in it. One more illusion gone makes very little difference in a life that has mainly consisted in losing them; and it is the significance rather than the fact of losing this one that interests me.

I interpret the Russian attack on Finland (which seems to me generically different from the Russian occupation of Eastern Poland) as meaning that Russian Communism is now completely purged of the element of a universal religion that it once contained. It is now reduced simply to the status of a modern totalitarian nationalism—the horrible phenomenon which seems to point to the complete break-up of Western civilization.

One of the consequences of this self-degradation of Russia to a mere totalitarian nationalism is that our British pacifist movement becomes more important. But this added importance is more ultimate and spiritual than immediate and practical. No; that these necessarily exclude one another.

But by far the most vital need of Europe at the present moment is the rebirth of a

universal religion. And what we are now experiencing is an ocular demonstration that there is no possibility of a universal religion in the world today unless it is fundamentally pacifist.

Hitherto, Christianity has had to endure an inevitable, but fatal, distortion. It professed to be universal, yet it was compelled to countenance war. The war it originally countenanced was indeed war against the barbarian; but gradually it came to countenance the war of Christian nation against Christian nation, and the "peaceful" war of class against class: until by the end of the nineteenth century there was nothing left of the Christian Church but a hollow shell. Into the spiritual vacuum thus left—since man "must and will have some religion"—poured Communism: a religion of universal brotherhood by way of civil violence.

Now the falsity of its pretensions is revealed. It worships a tribal god of war like the rest of the nations. The spiritual vacuum yawns again. It can be filled only by a reborn Christianity: a Christianity that discovers its own nature and allegiance by its being and its doing—that acts its brotherhood and lives its peace. I may be mistaken—I hope I am—but I do not believe that the visible Christian Church will have much to do with it, in any sense of the phrase.

C.O.s Are Not Being Treated As Parliament Intended

says RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

IRRESPECTIVE of our views as to whether conscientious objectors are misguided or not, men and women of good will both inside and outside Parliament must be disturbed at the reports which appear in the press of the ugly performances of some chairmen and members of tribunals dealing with these young people. It would seem that every objector is regarded by some tribunals as a felon and must be treated as such; and unless a change for the better takes place soon it may be found necessary to press for an official inquiry to find out whether these gentlemen understand the duties they are called upon to perform. Those of us who sat through all the proceedings when this legislation was debated in Parliament are satisfied that the clauses covering these objectors are not in many cases being administered as the House of Commons intended.

Obvious Unfairness

MOST of these young men come from humble homes, they are of working-class parents, and only a very few have enjoyed more than elementary education. They are often being catechized by highly educated persons, trained in the rules of evidence, familiar with dialectics, and old and cute enough to know how to put awkward questions. There is an obvious unfairness in the disparity of age, education and experience between the parties to commence with, but this seems to have been forgotten by members of some tribunals. In any case, it would be interesting to know how many chairmen, in spite of their status and learning, could answer without a moment's notice the simple question, "How came you to be appointed a chairman of this tribunal?"

The following are only a few examples of the clear bias against objectors. A chairman is reported as saying that "This man is mute of malice," and that after the objector had submitted a written statement in support of his claim and had already answered several stupid questions from the chair. Then, a notorious chairman called one objector "a coward" because he declared that he would not wear a gas mask. It would be interesting to find out how many cowards there are in these islands if we are to measure men and women by that very simple rule. The same chairman was annoyed at the Methodists; too many of them are conscientious objectors. Then, astonishment was expressed by one tribunal that a Jew dared to declare that he possessed a conscience against killing his fellow men, forgetting, we suppose, that the Master Conscientious Objector was a Jew.

Deeper Issues

NO wonder that decent people are inquiring already whether the State is getting its money's worth from these bodies. Each chairman receives at the rate of six guineas, and each member of a tribunal three guineas a day, for a session of five hours, plus 25s. per day sustenance allowance and first-class travel in addition. But the issues are deeper than that. Up

to November 16, 2,143 objectors had appeared before the tribunals. Only 4 per cent were registered unconditionally (regarded as genuine) in the London area; South-Eastern 14; East Anglian 40; Midlands 4; South-Western 41; North-Eastern 7; North-Western 23; Northumberland and Durham 9; North Wales 55; South Wales 15; S.W. Scotland 13 and 11 percent in S.E. Scotland. It is just as if a man was condemned to the gallows for an offence in Newcastle and another let off with a caution in North Wales for committing exactly the same dastardly deed.

The same disparity is found when these young people are relegated to the three other categories: those registered on condition that they undertake civil work or training; those registered for non-combatant duties in the Forces, and those removed altogether from the register of objectors. There were none removed from

the register in North Wales, while 50 per cent were disqualified in North Scotland.

Some chairmen adopt the vicious French legal system, acting as judge and prosecuting counsel combined, demanding that the defendant proves his innocence, always with an eye on the Bastille, as it were. They proceed, not in search of the man's conscience, but in a gloating endeavour to find (Pontius Pilate like) that he does not possess what to them is an "infernal nuisance."

As the age of enrolment for the Forces is being raised, the percentage of objectors increases proportionately, and the number of cases coming before the tribunals naturally grows as the result. We have always boasted of our British sense of justice and fair play; let us hope that that sense will be better displayed as the number of objectors increases. Let us not forget, above all, the bitterness caused in many homes in this country, consequent upon the persecution of objectors during the Great War.

What Minister Had Said Wasn't Evidence For Them

MR. ERNEST BROWN, Minister of Labour, said in the House of Commons on November 9, in reply to Mr. Sorensen: "Conscientious objection is not defined in the Act, and local tribunals have to use their own judgment in deciding whether an applicant, on whatever ground it may be based, is or is not of a conscientious nature."

When Mr. Campbell Stephen asked, "Can the Minister say that he agrees that this House, in giving the right to conscientious objectors, meant to do so on all these grounds?" Mr. Brown replied: "That is still the idea."

When the case of a "political" objector came before the Appellate Tribunal for England and Wales recently, the chairman would not allow this passage from the report in "Hansard" to be read by Mr. Fenner Brockway, who appeared on behalf of the objector. Nor would he accept a copy of "Hansard" with the passage marked.

He declared: "This tribunal must judge by the terms of the Act and not by statements in Parliament."

LETTERS

What Sort of Peace?

CAN we not inaugurate a National Campaign now on the lines of Mr. McCarthy's letter, on page 7 last week, entitled "What Sort of Peace?" Something "real big." Members of the Peace Pledge Union want something to participate in. "Keen and terribly in earnest," says John Barclay, as indeed we are!

Let us call meetings—under "Peace Settlement Now! Come and Arrange it with us!" or some such banner—and let us take the biggest halls we can get. Collections usually defray expenses.

Then let us put the philosophy of "Love versus Hate" to the meeting and BRING out the INDIAN POINT OF VIEW and impress the audiences with the fact that India is SEVEN-TENTHS of the Empire population. Plaster the places with Peace News posters and sell.

Can it be done?

A small meeting here in Willesden was extraordinarily successful in November. It can be done even better if co-ordinated and nationally planned.

G. PANKHURST.

28 Vicarage Way, Neasden, N.W.10.

Albert McCarthy did good service by his letter in last issue, particularly by his final penetrating question: "Are pacifists for capitalism and death, or revolution and life?"

He was right, too, in warning against an uncritical acceptance of liberal proposals like Federal Union. Federal Union may be right or wrong, or a very tempting cul-de-sac, but whatever the final verdict it will do grave damage if the PPU is identified with a debatable scheme.

John Barclay comes near giving Federalism his official blessing when he talks about "Federalism" the "new ideal," and I gather that it is becoming common for PPU demonstrators to carry banners like "Federation or Perish." This is dangerous, because it might stimulate a pacifist critic of federalism like myself to carry another banner reading: "Revolution or Ruin," and there would be no end to the confusion.

Wilfred Wellock's great contribution in recent writings is his insistence that if we retain anything recognizably like our present society we shall have nothing recognizable as peace. There is nothing to be gained by hiding the starkness of the alternative—either a new society or no society at all.

ALEXANDER MILLER.

1,982 Coventry Road, Birmingham, 26.

I am frequently reading letters from pacifists and socialists condemning Federal Union because it would mean bigger and better capitalism. However, so far as I am aware, the supporters of the principle of federalism are not advocating it as the panacea for all ills, but as the remedy for organized warfare between states.

If we could only remove the threat of war between states as has been done in the USA, we could devote our energies to improving conditions internally. It is because Federal Union is a step in the right direction (just as the League of Nations was) that I think pacifists should give it a certain measure of support.

KENNETH STOCKHAM.

182 Binley Road, Coventry.

Reconstruction

IS it not possible to form a battalion from the ranks of the Pacifist Service Bureau (or any similar organization) to carry on constructive relief work in the areas of Turkey devastated by the earthquake? The time has already passed for first-aid and rescue work, but what of the thousands of homeless, the ruined fields, and the broken buildings? This damage will take years to repair.

There must be hundreds, like myself, who would far sooner aid a crusade of reconstruction than join in a war of destruction.

Although pacifists do not need to justify themselves in the eyes of reasonably-minded people, the good work such an organization would do would also help the propaganda-blinded sections of the public to realize that young men with pacifist convictions are not necessarily work-shy cowards.

DAVID RIVERS.

Temple Fortune, London, N.W.11.

Irish Prisoners

Considerable publicity has been given to the events which occurred on Christmas Day among Republican prisoners interned in Derry gaol.

I am satisfied from personal investigation and from the testimony of a number of independent persons, including a member of the Northern Ireland Parliament, that the events constituted neither a riot nor an attempt to escape. Their sole purpose was to draw public attention to the internment of men without charge or trial by a government which professes to be fighting for the freedom of mankind.

These events occurred almost simultaneously with the publication by the Northern Ireland authorities of a list of periodicals banned under the Special Powers Act. Of all the periodicals listed, only one, *Irish Freedom*, is still in existence. It is a Labour paper, and has repudiated the terrorist methods of the IRA. Among its contributors are such well-known writers as Sean O'Casey, Liam O'Flaherty, Peadar Kirby, O'Donnell and Desmond Ryan.

Is it too much to ask that public opinion in Britain demand the immediate release of untried political prisoners in Northern Ireland, and the restoration of real freedom of the Press in the Province? (Northern Ireland is officially part of the United Kingdom.)

Some of the interned men have been deprived of their liberty for over a year now. Their dependents are in many cases suffering serious privations, and a non-partisan body, the Irish Prisoners' National Aid Society, has had to be formed to collect funds for the relief of these victims of "Hitlerism" under the Union Jack.

J. E. DE COURCY IRELAND, Chairman, Irish Prisoners' National Aid Society, Derry.

Tribunals

THE remarks of Judge Burgis preliminary to the opening of the second Manchester Session of the Lancashire tribunal for conscientious objectors indicate a remarkable oversight in the drafting of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act.

Judge Burgis, as reported by the *Manchester Guardian*, stated that his contacts with conscientious objectors in the course of his conduct of tribunals had led him to the belief that conscience is susceptible to reaction from external events. "A conscience," he said, "must be examined from time to time in the light of changing

circumstances. A man who says that his conscience is static and does not examine it and re-examine it, is not honest to his conscience. If he deliberately abstains from examining it lest it should tell him what he does not want to know, he is lacking not merely in moral courage, but also in honour."

We at once see the implications of such a statement if we apply it to the case of a young soldier. Few external events in peace time can possibly have so profound an effect on a youth as those which he is likely to meet with in the course of his training and daily life as a soldier.

Does it not seem that it would be desirable therefore to look into the possibility of throwing open the tribunals to those already engaged in military service? By this means our Government could ascertain how far the profoundly disturbing experiences of war service had modified the conscience of soldiers.

A. SUTCLIFFE.

105 Reeves Avenue, Newcastle, Staffs.

I read in the daily Press the other day the statement that a conscientious objector had said that in the event of a pacifist coming upon a wounded soldier, it would be the Christian thing to let him die.

Jesus Christ, in His parable of the Good Samaritan, was not concerned with whether the Jew, after being restored to health, would commit any more sins, but that he was a man in need of help, which only the Samaritan gave.

Consequently, it follows that if a pacifist were to come upon a wounded soldier, he should do his best to succour him and restore him to health and strength.

This does not mean, however, and this I believe is the crucial point, that he should go with the soldier so as to be ready to help him should he so be in need.

S. L. M. SAUNDERS,

17 Derwent Crescent, Whetstone, N.20.

Points from Letters on

GIFT RATIONS

I would suggest that the Government rationing, which comes into force next week, offers an excellent opportunity for pacifists—and particularly women pacifists—to make a contribution towards the well-being of the community at some slight sacrifice to themselves. The only rationed foods will be butter and bacon, so far as we know at present, and I suggest that pacifists should make weekly gifts of their own share of these two commodities to the children or to invalids in their neighbourhood. I am convinced that it is this kind of "pacifism in action" which will in the long run change people's outlook, and if done on a large scale will contribute as effectively to our long-term policy as any gigantic poster parade or procession will to our shorter-term policy of stopping this particular war.

MARGARETTA H. BENNETT, Milgate, Rochester, S.W.15.

AN INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL

An international school, built up in this country, could make a contribution towards solving the problem of giving an international community the right conditions for its success. There is a group of teachers, in my own knowledge, who have worked along these lines for years, and now they have made contacts with other people in this country who have the same ideas. I would invite all those who are interested in this project for the establishment of such an international school or schools in this country to communicate with me. I shall be glad to furnish more details about the plan. A weekend conference may be arranged for the middle of January, where the idea of an international school will be discussed.

DOUGLAS J. J. OWEN, 651 Didsbury Road, Heaton Mersey, Manchester.

THE MOST VITAL
CRUSADE OF
OUR TIME

• PEACE •

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is a non-political and non-sectarian
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for peace and reconstruction.

Generosity Is the Key to a Victory for Peace

IN the autumn of 1919 three German shipowners (Stepelfeldt of the NDL, Peltzer of the HAL, and Burger of the DADG) came to spend the weekend with me. Though it was twelve months since the Armistice a special police permit had to be obtained for their visit. After dinner the four of us discussed old times, the war and the peace of Versailles.

Peltzer became fired with bitterness and passion, rose from his chair, struck the table and said, "We will never accept this false peace. We will fight you again."

Stepelfeldt laid his hand on his arm and said, "Peltzer, be calm, remember where you are, remember the respect you owe to Mr. Holt."

I said, "It's all right, Stepelfeldt, I understand and sympathize with Peltzer, and I will do all I can to prevent any necessity for fighting us again."

Peltzer and Stepelfeldt are dead. Burger is still in business in Hamburg.

★

IN January, 1920, I went to Hamburg and called on Dr. Cuno, then head of the HAL and afterwards Chancellor of the German Reich.

I was ushered into the room that had previously been Herr Ballin's and found Cuno seated in his chair at his desk.

He looked at me with uncertainty. I walked towards him and held out my hand but he remained motionless until Peltzer said to him, "He wishes to shake your hand."

"Ah," he cried, and came forward and warmly shook my hand.

I said to them that I had come to ask if they would act as agents for our ships.

I said, "You will, I know, rebuild your fleet and re-enter your old trades but all this will take time and meantime we must have our share of what is going. All I ask is that when the time comes for you to resume your place as a national line you will not take advantage of us because we are wholly in your hands."

"Where is the agreement you wish us to sign?" said Cuno.

I replied, "We ask you to sign nothing; your word is sufficient for us." He gave it and they kept it. Mr. Freeman, superintendent engineer to our line, was with me at the time and well remembers my report of this interview.

★

IN June, 1930, ten years later, when Lord Mayor of Liverpool, I went to visit Copenhagen, Hamburg, Bremen, and Amsterdam, together with the leaders of the City Council, the Town Clerk and the full regalia of the City and the Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University.

Without doubt there was a strong desire among the Germans we met to co-operate with England if only England would co-operate with them. Certainly the Germans then were amenable to reasonable treatment but alas, neither politicians, industrialists, nor trade unions in this country seemed inclined to give to them that equality of economic consideration which alone can be regarded as the reasonable treatment of one great nation by another.

Nor did I myself ever receive one word of help, encouragement or appreciation from anyone connected with His late Majesty's Government for this strenuous labour to strengthen understanding and friendship with Germany by my official visit to the great Hanseatic Cities and by bringing back with me to Liverpool, as the City's guest, the President of the Free State of Hamburg.

★

WHAT now is the prospect before us?

Certain it is that the primary cause of war in Europe today is economic. Economic distress has forced the German nation to enslave itself to Hitler. In the whole history of man there is nothing that will more surely make men fight (or animals for that matter) than economic need.

No doubt the desire for economic mastery expresses itself more brutally under Hitler than it does in the polished sophistications of those who guide our destiny. Nonetheless,

.....says.....

**Lawrence Holt,
shipowner, and a
former Lord Mayor
of Liverpool**

we have deliberately set out under Lloyd George, Baldwin, MacDonald and Chamberlain to separate our economic life from German participation and, by so doing, we have helped slowly to provoke the present conflict.

Our statesmen have no doubt rightly decided that the electors of this country would not submit to any curtailment of their own immediate advantages, in order to try to build up the larger well-being of Europe, but they stand convicted of having made no honest effort to educate the electorate to do so.

The inevitable result of such conduct in human society, as in the jungle, is a fight. When the fight is over, what are we going to do next? Are we going to repeat the same old process or shall we frankly admit that all parties to the fight are in divers ways to blame and seek to build up together a more enlightened human economy in which all men and nations may legitimately share according to the value of their contributions?

★

MR. CHAMBERLAIN talks of Utopia. All that is really needed is plain common sense and a readiness to live on equal terms with other people even though you cannot speak their language or understand their habits.

Economics are the mainspring of life.

Men must have equal access to the sources of life, or if they feel themselves to be deprived they will fight to take by force what is denied to them by greed or fear.

It is the duty, and the privilege, of those who have faith in a civilization of peace to lead the way by their example. The fight for existence will never cease if people persist in using the means of existence as weapons of war. The only true and enduring strength of a people, as of the individual man, is derived from the virility of their manhood and from their power to contribute freely, in body and mind, to the common well-being of mankind.

We are resolved to win this war; let us resolve also to win the peace. It is an utter fallacy to say, "Win the war first and talk about peace afterwards"; the exact reverse is true, "Let the whole world see that you are resolved on a human peace and you have already made sure and swift your victory." Magnanimity is the key to victory.

★

WHAT is the alternative? That the Germans are incurable bullies and must be periodically beaten into subjection. Such a task demands perpetual military preparation or a final resolve of destruction—*delenda est Carthago*.

A study of Machiavelli and of the course of European politics since his day would provide a variety of cross policies both for the Germans, and for ourselves, and the rest of Europe, but all these policies without exception must rest upon the use of force and compel the nations to regard each other as potential enemies and to regulate their policies and economic lives accordingly.

Enlightened morality is bound to perish in such an atmosphere; and mankind could only hope for redemption through prolonged and agonized suffering in the crucible of universal destruction. Great is the tradition of human service that is ours. We hold that tradition in trust for the service and advancement of mankind and, if



DR. WILHELM CUNO, shipowner, who was Chancellor of Germany during the French occupation of the Rhineland. Mr. Holt here describes a meeting with him in 1920.

we turn it to selfish purposes, it will surely be taken from us.

There can be few British men and women of generous heart who do not feel the sacredness of this trust. Though the casuistries of conscience may lead us to differ much in opinion there is in this proud tradition of ours a sense of compelling duty that will never let us treat the Germans or the Russians as they treat others.

How then is the alternative to be found or applied? Duty will surely guide us through the gloom of war. But there can be no radiant dawn of peace until our hearts are largely stirred by the active spirit of generosity, sacrifice and trust, the magnetic mine designed by the wisdom of the ages to destroy hatred, malice, and all other uncharitableness amongst men. To maintain this faith is an ever-present duty.

The Editor's Point of View

A HOPEFUL Task for 1940

EVEN war cannot altogether rob the starting of a New Year of its usual note of hopefulness.

Are there not real grounds at least for hopeful endeavour to do what we can individually to make peace possible in 1940?

Let the doubters speak first. They can, of course, point to the actions, as well as to some of the more warlike speeches, of statesmen and Governments which would seem to indicate a very definite and decided intention to pursue the war to a bitter end.

In particular, New Year's Day saw the signing by the King of a proclamation which will enable the Government to call upon all men between the ages of 18 and 28 (exclusive) to register and then serve in the armed forces as and when they are needed.

★

IT is not irrelevant, however, to point out that it is the nature of Governments and politicians, especially when at war, to go to sometimes quite childish lengths to keep up their appearances of strength, and that most people still regard armed force as the supreme expression of strength.

Such phrases as "the power of non-violence" and "the terrible meek" are still, for the vast majority of people, either mildly amusing or simply meaningless contradictions in terms, while "conference" and "negotiation" still describe for most people, something that happens after disputes have been "settled" by war, instead of a method of settling the disputes.

Whatever the hopes for 1940, therefore, there is need to peg away at the simple plea for the method of negotiation to be substituted for the method of war. But let that activity be inspired by hope.

After all, even the "bitter-enders" presumably only talk as they do because they have not yet been persuaded that the end can be anything but bitter. Besides, other, more hopeful, voices are being raised.

And it is hopeful that they are being allowed expression, and even given facilities for expression.

★

ON the radio every Friday night John Middleton Murry is talking pacifism, and a number of listening groups—often organized by local Peace Pledge Union groups—are discussing his talks.

In *The Times*, on Tuesday, Canon Charles E. Raven and the Rev. Henry Carter had a letter urging that the proposals and ideas which the Pope and the President of the United States put forward at Christmas time "and which have been long advocated and explored in detail should be accepted by this country and its ally, that we proclaim plainly our readiness to accept them immediately, and take steps to assure the people of Germany of our resolve."

In his New Year *Diocesan Gazette*, the Bishop of Chichester suggested that "without any condoning of the Nazi regime or the crimes against Poland and Czechoslovakia, a very strong effort ought to be made to see whether we cannot obtain terms that are just and would lead to an enduring settlement. The alternative is to go unceasingly on, millions massed against millions, in a war of destruction."

New World Order

Probably more important still is the line—even though it is still too vague—that most of the pleas for peace are taking.

The New Year has, in fact, seen the publication of one of the least vague of such pleas. The very title of H. G. Wells's new book (referred to on another page) expresses it—*The New World Order*. And this too was given much publicity in the press on New Year's day—even by the popular papers which do not often notice books and which still less frequently encourage revolutionary ideas.

For this is a revolutionary idea that is already running through people's minds. And we need such an idea, since the war, being another incident of rival imperialisms reveals the rottenness of the old order.

Do not let us scorn the vagueness and

feebleness of this new idea. It is something that people can bear to hear and see and use such radical terms as "new world order," "a new Europe," and "Europe based on a new spirit."

No Off-Hand Rejection

THESE are terms which even statesmen are using. It may be only lip-service, as some fear. But at least people can bear to hear such things said, so perhaps they can now be persuaded to talk, think and even act on such ideas.

On Christmas Eve the Pope enumerated five essentials of peace: 1. The "right to life and independence" of all nations; 2. Freedom from "the burden of armaments races"; 3. "The constitution of juridical institutions . . . to ensure the loyal and faithful application of the agreements, and, where the need is recognized, to revise and correct them"; 4. "Attention must be paid to the true needs and just demands of the nations and peoples and . . . minorities"; 5. The need for a "spirit of moral justice."

It is not without significance that he declared his belief that "responsible and level-headed men" would be prepared privately and "at an opportune and propitious moment" to define peace terms more clearly "and would not reject negotiations off-hand."

It was reported, after Christmas, that Berlin's attitude to the Pope's peace points was "cautious," and this week it is stated that the Papal Nuncio was received six times during last week by the German Foreign Office.

Cannot we, then, in this country work during the year that has just begun to see that our own Government's attitude to these and any other such proposals is not merely cautious rather than hostile but is definitely co-operative? Can we not work hopefully for that?

Humphrey S. Moore

Another Kind Of B.E.F. C.O. Tells Authorities He Will Not Report for Duty

From a Correspondent

ON December 29, three workers, all pacifists, left this country for service in Hungary.

The three—Nancy Catford (a specialist in handicrafts), Graham Heath (Assistant Secretary of the Youth Hostels Association), and Halmer Wallis (International Secretary of the Holiday Fellowship)—have been selected by the Polish Relief Committee of the Society of Friends to organize relief activities among the Polish refugees that have fled into Hungary.

In addition to military refugees there are about 10,000 civilian refugees, including men, women, children and youths living in great squalor and misery, and their physical privations are such as to make the outbreak of disease and organic sickness almost inevitable.

Not for the first time has the Society of Friends pointed out and trodden the way that leads to the healing of the nations and has, in the strife of a warring world, brought peace and help to war's victims.

Some of our readers will remember the almost unimaginable horrors of famine and disease which stalked abroad in Central and Eastern Europe in the trial of the armies 20 years ago, and will recall the devoted labours of the Quakers wherever the need was greatest. Once more the challenge to service has been sounded, and again that challenge is being taken up.

It is in supporting such positive work as this that pacifists who feel the incompleteness of a negative attitude to war can find an outlet for their urge to do something.

At present, though 200 volunteers offered themselves for the work in Hungary, no more workers, beyond this pioneer party, are wanted; but our readers can take a share in this constructive work of peace and mercy by sending contributions to the Friends' Service Council, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, marked "Polish Refugee Relief."

The relief record of the Quakers is sufficient guarantee that all such contributions will be used to their fullest value, and senders will have the satisfaction of knowing that they are sharing in healing, not making, the wounds of war.

WHY NOT BE SANE NOW?

"IN Turkey whole towns and villages have been devastated in the worst earthquake recorded for many years. In a few moments more casualties have been caused than have been registered so far in four months of war in the West. . . .

"For the world as a whole the earthquake has a moral if anyone cares to draw it. This planet is still quite dangerous enough to human life without making it more so. A saner generation will not give itself unnecessary salvage work."

—News Chronicle, on Friday.

Community Produce for London

IT is hoped that one of the industries to be adopted by the new London community starting in Kentish Town will be the distribution of the surplus produce of country communities.

Inquiries are being made to find out if the demand for produce will justify the transport.

Pacifists living in the London area, who would wish to be supplied with community-grown vegetables, fruit, whole-meal flour, &c., could help by writing to the Organizer at the following address, stating their needs (i.e., kind of produce, average number of pounds per week, &c.): the Community Shop, 95 Leighton Road, N.W.5.

GEORGE PLUME, the "political" objector whose case was rejected by the Appellate Tribunal recently, has received his calling-up notice. He has told the military authorities that he is a conscientious objector and cannot comply with it.

He was due to report yesterday (Thursday) for medical examination.

Mr. Plume has been for some time a member of the Independent Labour Party and of the Peace Pledge Union.

He had been given exemption by the London tribunal on condition he continued to follow his occupation as an accountant. The Ministry of Labour appealed against this decision, with the result that Plume was removed from the Register of COs.

Though the Ministry of Labour had desired the case to be treated as a test case, the Appellate Tribunal declined to give a ruling for permanent guidance.

Latest reports of the work of this Appellate Tribunal and of that from Scotland appear below.

Analysis of Decisions at Both Appellate Tribunals

From a Correspondent

THE Appellate Tribunal for England and Wales sat in London on December 6, 7, 18, 19, 21 and 22, and dealt with 131 appeals.

In the following analysis of its decisions, A stands for unconditional exemption, B for conditional exemption, C for registration for non-combatant duties, and D for unqualified registration for military service:

9 appeals against B dismissed	
41 " " C "	
37 " " D "	
TOTAL APPEALS DISMISSED . . 87	
8 appeals against D were given C	
17 " " C " " B	
1 " " B " " A	
6 " " D " " B	
4 " " B were registered conditional upon remaining in their present occupation.	
2 appeals by the Minister of Labour against registered COs were upheld;	
2 appeals were withdrawn;	
2 cases were for Hardship Committees;	
2 applicants did not appear.	

THE first sitting of the Appellate Tribunal for Scotland was held on December 21 and 22 in the Parliament Buildings, Edinburgh.

Twenty-seven cases were dealt with as follows: decision of local tribunals upheld, 18; unconditional exemption granted, 4; decision changed (a) to non-combatant duties, 1; (b) to present employment or specified work, 2; postponed (non-appearance owing to illness), 1; hardship case confirmed, 1.

Of the eighteen decisions upheld, six were for removal from the COs register; eight were appealing against non-combatant duties, one against civilian work; and the remaining three, who did not appear are unknown, the appeals not being read.

Of the few cases given complete exemption one had not been heard by the local tribunal.

The second caused much surprise; although the applicant was prepared to do agricultural work, he was given unconditional exemption.

A third was a member of the Christian Brethren, of which a number appeared, appealing against non-combatant or other duties. It was noticeable that nearly all the members of the Brethren had the local tribunals' decisions confirmed.

In the fourth case, that of a member of Jehovah's Witnesses, an inconsistency came to light. The local tribunal, in Glasgow had recorded an unfavourable decision. An identical case heard by the Edinburgh local tribunal had been given unconditional exemption in the first instance.

The applicant whose decision was changed to non-combatant duties, was appealing against combatant and non-combatant duties.

Several applicants emphasized that, no matter what the decision of the appellate tribunal, they would resist. A few of these got a more favourable decision, and a few did not.

Glasgow N.C.L. Meetings

The Gorbels and Hutchestown groups of the No Conscription League (Glasgow and West of Scotland Council) now meets every Friday in the ILP Rooms, 207 Rutherglen Road, Glasgow, at 7.30 p.m.

The group held a successful mock tribunal a fortnight ago, and last week the Council Secretary, Mr. R. Vallance, addressed the members on the aims and objects of the NCL.

"MARCHING ON THE GRAVES OF THEIR FATHERS"

French Censor and a Mother's Cry Against the War

"I am worried about the life of my sons. I am like all the mothers who lost the father at the other war and today see their sons marching to take their place. . . . marching on the graves of their fathers."

These anxious words appear in a letter from a French mother to one of her sons, a French pacifist who has lived in Britain for the past three years.

"Since the outbreak of war," the son told *Peace News*, "the French authorities summoned me twice to go back to France, but I refused to do so. Now I am considered as an 'insoumis' and am only hoping that the British authorities will allow me to stay indefinitely in this country in order that I may remain free."

Father Killed in 1914

"My father was killed during the 'other' war, in September, 1914."

"For many years my mother toiled to

bring up her three young boys. Now one of them is mobilized somewhere near the Western Front, and another is mobilized at his post in Paris.

"You may imagine what a trying time my mother is experiencing now, in the sole company of her old mother, in a remote village in Central France. I hear regularly from her, and she always gives me the news from my brothers, as it might commit them if they wrote to me or I to them."

Letter Censored

The French pacifist added that his mother had never entirely approved of his pacifist views.

Some time ago he told her that her last letter had been censored. In her reply she expressed her exasperation in the following words:

"You told me that my last letter was censored. What did they want to know from me? What could I tell you except that I am worried about the life of my sons?"

"I am like all the mothers who lost the father at the other war and today see their sons marching to take their place. I cannot accept this with a light heart. It is revolting, it is always the same class of people who have to wage the war, always the same are sent to get killed, and the same are hiding in the rear!"

"The sons of those who died during the other one are now marching on the graves of their fathers, and the sons of those who were hiding themselves in the rear are also in the rear. Where is justice?"

"I am revolted! I wish I knew where I could raise my voice and protest. They censored my last letter! I wish they could censor this one, they would judge if my position is a pleasant one!"

Actually this reply was opened by the French military authorities, who thus heard a mother's voice condemning the war which they were waging.

French War Resister Sentenced, page 8.

"Society has no rights in matters of conscience; it has no right to banish from its midst those who refuse to submit to its laws on religious belief, but follow their conscience, for the individual has rights that society cannot take from him by unjust laws."

—Jacques Turgot, 1727-1781.



Also try Essona Eau de Cologne at same price.

EFFECT OF NEW CALL-UP

MEN between nineteen and 27 years of age, who have not already registered, will be affected in due course by the Royal Proclamation signed by the King on Monday night.

But they need take no action yet. When the registration day for each age group is fixed, public announcements will be made.

Those who intend to register as conscientious objectors should watch *Peace News* for advice on how to act when their time for registration arrives.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Following are further changes to the lists of advisory bureaux for conscientious objectors we have previously published. (Such changes should be notified to the National Joint Advisory Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and not to *Peace News*).

Addition

FAVERSHAM; Rev. S. C. Bastable, 37 Whitstable Road, Faversham, Kent.

Alteration

CHESTER. James Lowe, 36 Pearl Lane, Vicars Cross, Chester.

YORK; John Uttley, 20 North Parade, Queen Anne's Road, York.

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Women's Peace Campaign

THERE will be a message from Mary Gamble, chairman of the Women's Peace Campaign, next week (which we hope to publish). Meanwhile the organizers of the campaign are going ahead with the preparation of plans.

TO ACT AS P.P.U. PRESS SECRETARY

THE Executive Committee of the PPU has decided not to appoint a Public Relations Officer as such, but to ask Alan Staniland, in consultation with Stuart Morris and Miss Nancy Browne, to act as Press Secretary.

Mr. Staniland has not the time to do the outside work which a Public Relations Officer would normally try to do, and he does not want to be inundated with requests or suggestions with which he is not able to cope.

"It is my invincible belief that science and peace will triumph over ignorance and war; that the nations will come to an understanding, not for destruction but for construction, and that the future will be to those who have done the most for suffering humanity."

—Louis Pasteur, 1822-1895.

BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS! by John Barclay

HOW many times during the year is the subject of books discussed? Books are becoming more numerous each year as more and more people become "book-minded"; libraries all report increases in borrowings and bookshops tell of increased sales since the war began.

People want to know; they are dimly aware that all is not in the newspapers—that perhaps they do not "hear the whole truth and nothing but the truth" on the wireless. They are disturbed at the trend of events and the constant changes made by political leaders of all parties. So they turn to books to find out the truth for themselves.

The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

The PPU has always been blessed by (a) a large selection of authors, (b) a large book-buying membership. The result has been that there are within the pacifist ranks numbers of people well-grounded in pacifist philosophy from all angles. Not only are the ideas of Bertrand Russell spreading, but they are mixing with those of Dick Sheppard and Canon Raven.

When crowds go to hear Donald Soper on Tower Hill, they are able to compare what he says with the writings of Lord

Ponsonby and Laurence Housman and so within and without our Movement is growing up an educated and informed opinion.

How can we spread this knowledge and widen the range of our literature to reach that public which is reading everything it can lay its hands on in a desperate attempt to get out of the trap steadily closing in on us and out of which there seems to be only one exit, through pacifism?

In the first place, every member should be in touch with our Literature Department. If you have not already done so, send for a copy of the February list, which will be ready in a few weeks. On this list you will find books of all kinds at all prices.

One of the most important branches of our Literature Department has from the beginning been the supply of a wide range of pamphlets at prices varying from one penny to sixpence. These have been written by such men and women as Aldous Huxley, Rose Macaulay, Philip Mumford, Richard Ward and others, to name only a few of the better-known. These pamphlets are always selling, but ought to be in the hands of every member and given by them to others. Then, for the wider door to door

distribution, we publish leaflets on topical subjects and print them in quantities of from 5,000 to 500,000 so that they can be retailed at a low price.

In the early days this department was built up by the untiring energies of Geoffrey Palmer; since October this year the work has been taken over by Leonard Sidwell and at the present moment we are in a position to deal with orders, however big.

To give a final picture of how essential is the co-operation of *Peace News*; it is only necessary to say that any book specially mentioned any week in the paper is certain of a sale and the greater the number of *Peace News* sold, the wider the potential public for buying our books.

Will you therefore:—

- (1) Write to us for a Literature List.
- (2) Order as many books, pamphlets and leaflets as you can each week.
- (3) Introduce books on our list to public libraries.
- (4) Buy *Peace News* for yourself and at least one extra copy for giving away.
- (5) If you are in London come to 6 Endsleigh Street and go round the Literature Department.

With your increased co-operation this year we can have the widest distribution of pacifist literature that the country has ever known and as this literature is all educative, it will help to build up the kind of public opinion necessary to end the war.

How P.P.U. Groups Are Working for Peace

THERE has been intense activity in Jersey during the past month. Both PPU and *Peace News* posters have been displayed on bill hoardings, and in such a small place have proved very effective.

There has been an outstanding rise in the sales of *Peace News*. Sellers recently disposed of thirteen dozen copies in one week, while six weeks ago they were only selling three dozen copies.

Members went carolling at Christmas and collected £8 18s. for a local charity. They went as the PPU group and distributed PPU pamphlets, and were very gratified at the general attitude toward their activities. It is hoped to follow this effort up with a public meeting in the near future.

Hornsey's Christmas Message

THE members of the Peace Pledge Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Hornsey, N.8, send greetings, and best wishes for a happy Christmas. They hope that the Angels' Song of PEACE on EARTH GOOD WILL TO MEN, will soon be heard in all the warring countries."

The above message was printed on a Christmas card distributed to all houses in the Hornsey postal district from the local Peace Committee. Cards were also sent to the Premier, Mr. Winston Churchill and the local MP and Mayor of Hornsey.

Coventry Splits Up

THE Coventry branch has been divided into four groups—Earlsdon, Foleshill, Radford and Stoke—for purposes of study and discussion. All the groups meet together once a month when a speaker addresses the meeting, and methods of spreading pacifism are discussed.

Selling of *Peace News* in the streets is now being organized vigorously, and between 80 and 90 copies are sold each week. Anyone in Coventry who is interested in the PPU should communicate with the new secretary, Miss M. Evans, "Hollycroft," Fife Road, Coventry.

Bramley Group Proposal

IT is proposed to form a group in Bramley, Surrey, meeting once a week or fortnight, for discussion, in Kay's Bookshop, High Street, Bramley (near Guildford). Will anyone interested please communicate with R. Povell at the above address.

Bermondsey Mass Selling

THE last mass selling of *Peace News* organized by the Bermondsey group was supported by a poster parade, and sixty copies were sold. One seller was attacked by an hysterical woman, and a crowd soon gathered. The on-lookers were not hostile, however, and the diversion was a considerable fillip to sales.

Unfortunately the remainder of the afternoon was marred by police interference, and the sellers were ordered to "keep moving" as they were liable to cause a disturbance. The protests of the sellers were met by the threat of more direct action, and one seller was accused of "dumb insolence."

Glasgow Demonstration

A MASS poster parade of members and sympathizers in the Glasgow Region was held in the centre of the city on Saturday, December 23. Over sixty people took part. The demonstration was allowed to traverse

over half-a-mile of crowded streets before the police eventually interfered and stopped it, on the grounds that the magistrates had previously banned such a procession.

The question as to whether persons walking in single file on the sidewalk about fifteen yards apart constituted a procession arose, and a protest was made. The officer in charge, however, insisted that it was a procession, and ordered them to take off their posters, which they refused to do, and proceeded back to the office in twos and threes attracting much admiration and remarks of approval from members of the public.

It is intended to continue this type of demonstration at least monthly in the future.

Orpington Entertains

ON Wednesday, December 20, the refugees living in and around Orpington were the guests of the Orpington Refugee Committee and the Orpington and District Branch of the PPU. Captain and Mrs. V. Simmonds acted as host and generously placed Knoll House at their disposal.

A team of Germans and Czechs from one of the hostels provided a lively entertainment of songs

There are about 1,000 active groups within the Peace Pledge Union. These reports show how some of them are working for peace.

and sketches. After supper, Mrs. Sturge, ex-liaison officer for the district, explained the aims of the social, viz., to enable the English members to make contacts with the refugees in Orpington and maintain these friendships throughout their stay in England.

She herself has generously thrown open her own house (16 The Cove, Petts Wood) for use as a "common room" for refugees on Tuesdays and Thursdays in the afternoon after January 18.

The evening ended with carols and dancing. Gifts of food and money from well-wishers enabled the venture to be self-supporting.

Last Friday the Orpington and District branch held an open meeting, at which Miss Mary Macaulay, the well-known Canadian psychologist, spoke on the training of children for ideal citizenship.

The meeting was the last to be held at Knoll House, and at the end the secretary presented Captain and Mrs. V. Simmonds, who have so long been the group's host and hostess, with book gifts as a sign of grateful appreciation from the group, while the group's best wishes follow them into their new place of residence.

Future meetings of the group will now be held at the Village Hall (Committee room) on the last Friday of every month at 8 p.m.

Dr. Raistrick at Shipley

DR. Arthur Raistrick, of Durham University, addressed a recent meeting of the Shipley group. There were just over sixty people present and Dr. Raistrick's address on "Raw Materials and War" aroused much interest.

City of London Activities

FOR reasons beyond their control, the local activities of the City of London group have been somewhat circumscribed lately, though the good work on Tower Hill, organized by Miss Schutte, has been maintained, and the "Good Companions" under the leadership of Charles Stuart have also been active.

On Friday, January 12, at 1.10 p.m., in the vestry of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, the lunch-hour meetings will re-commence when John Barclay will give a New Year message. All group members working in the City and any other friends, whether PPU members or not, are warmly invited.

Edgware Open Air Meeting

THE Edgware group held its second open-air meeting since the outbreak of hostilities on Saturday, December 23, at Oakley Avenue, Burnt Oak.

Crowds were small, for the weather was bad, but the speakers kept going. Heckling was considerable, but it took the form of criticism rather than blank opposition.

Regional Meeting at Nottingham

AT the Nottingham regional meeting on December 14, Professor Radford, of University College, Nottingham, spoke on "The Economic Causes of War."

Professor Radford took the line that the Marxist theory of the necessity of territorial expansion to a Capitalist economy had been disproved by history since the time of Marx. Following this he maintained as his thesis that the usually alleged economic causes of war (the struggle for raw materials and markets) are practically speaking fictitious, and that the economic factors liable to lead to war are at the present time negligible.

Questioned, he said that in his opinion the main cause of war was "a bellicose instinct in man" and appeared to think that the present war had no economic causes. His views were criticized from the floor from various standpoints, including the Marxist.

Stockton Meetings

THE Stockton group meets on alternate Tuesdays at 7.30 p.m. in the Adult School, Dovecot Street, and not on Mondays as announced in *Peace News* recently. The next meeting will be on January 9.

Maidstone Meetings

THE Maidstone group now meets every Thursday at 7 p.m. at 348 Loose Road. On Saturday, January 13, there will be a Regional mass selling of *Peace News* in Maidstone.

Reaping What We Sow

In *The Necessity of Pacifism* J. Middleton Murry quotes the following words of D. H. Lawrence:

"Germany—Prussia—is not evil through and through. Her mood is now evil. But we reap what we have sowed. It is as with a child: if with a sullen evil soul one provokes an evil mood in the child, there is destruction. But no child is all evil. And Germany is the child of Europe; and senile Europe, with her conventions and arbitrary rules of conduct and life and very being, has provoked Germany into a purely destructive mood."

"If a mother does this to a child—and it often happens—is she to go on till the child is killed or broken, so that the mother have her way?"

"Is she not rather, at a certain point, to yield to the paroxysm of the child, which passes away swiftly when the opposition is removed? And if Prussia for a time imposes her rule on us, let us bear it, as a mother temporarily bears the ugly tyranny of her child, trusting to the ultimate good. The good will not be long in coming all over Europe if we trust in it ourselves. (This is not yielding to the child—this is knowing beyond the child's knowledge.)"

Middleton Murry himself adds:

"Today there are many who have come to share his insight. All that Lawrence saw then in germ has been hatched, and his words are even truer of the Germany of Hitler than they were of the Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm."

Date and Place of A.G.M.

The annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union will be held in Friends House, Euston Road, London, W.C.1, on April 27 and 28.

VERA BRITAIN'S WEEKLY LETTER

An Appreciation and an Appeal

I AM sure all subscribers would like to join with me in wishing Miss Britain success and safety on her travels, and to express thanks and gratitude for her tireless efforts in the cause of peace.

Although Miss Britain will be away for three months her weekly letters will, of course, continue.

Your encouragement and support in the past has been much appreciated, and you can still help. We need 3,000 subscribers—we have now close on 2,000. Can you each find another one and ensure a bumper profit for the PPU? Also, voluntary workers are urgently needed, particularly on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. I should be extremely grateful to hear of anyone who could spare some of their time—the only essential qualifications are to be able to write and to decipher signatures!

Will anybody who can help please be good enough to write to me at 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1?

WINIFRED EDEN-GREEN

Bristol Tribunal Decisions

TWENTY-FOUR cases were dealt with by the South-Western Tribunal for conscientious objectors at Bristol on Monday.

Six were given unconditional exemption; twelve conditional exemption; five non-combatant duties; and one was placed on the Military Register without conditions.

A splendid case was put up by B. Darbyshire, a member of the Society of Friends. He joined the Friends' Ambulance Unit on the outbreak of war, and will be going to Finland.

He would not accept this service as a condition of exemption, however, and was given unconditional exemption.

Weakness and Strength

"The weakest things in the world can overwhelm the strongest things in the world. Nothing in the world can be compared to water for its weak and yielding nature; yet in attacking the hard and strong nothing proves better than it. For there is no alternative to it."

"The weak can overcome the strong, and the yielding can overcome the hard: this all the world knows but does not practise. These are words of truth though they seem paradoxical."

"Return love for great hatred. Otherwise, when a great hatred is reconciled, some of it will surely remain."

—From Lao Tzu's *Tao Te Ching*.

Dates for
Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address).
As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion.
Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

Today (Friday)
GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. ILP Rooms, Batson Street; Mock Tribunal; Peter Marshall (chairman); No Conscription League.
GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Reid Hall, Queenshill Street, Springburn; public meeting; No Conscription League.
GOVAN, Glasgow: 7.30 p.m. ILP Hall, 634 Govan Road; public lecture; No Conscription League.
LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane; Richard Ward; PPU.
SPRINGBURN, Glasgow: 7.30 p.m. Reid Hall (Lower), Queenshill Street; advice to COs, and anti-conscription discussion; No Conscription League.
LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; R. S. W. Pollard on "Civil Liberties and the War"; PPU.
Tomorrow (Saturday)
WORCESTER: 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Sansome Walk; J. R. Jenkins on "True Democracy"; PPU.

Sunday, January 7
BOURNEMOUTH: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; open meeting; Theodore Faithfull; PPU.
UXBRIDGE: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, York Road; Mock Tribunal; intending applicants should communicate with J. A. Brown, 2 Corwell Lane, Hillingdon, Middlesex. Tribunals to be held weekly until further notice.
BIRMINGHAM: 6.30 p.m. Priory Rooms, Upper Priory (near Lewis's Stores); "Stop-the-War" Crusade; Andrew Stewart and Bob Edwards; chairman, John Hoyland; No Conscription League.
EWELL, Surrey: 7 p.m. Church Room, London Road; Test Tribunal; PPU.

Monday, January 8
BOURNEMOUTH: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; Theodore Faithfull on "Economics and Peace"; PPU.
BAYSWATER: 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; V. K. Krishna Menon on "India"; PPU.
WOOD GREEN: 8 p.m. Trinity Methodist Church; Rev. Cecil D. Eades on "Federal Union"; PPU.
Tuesday, January 9
TOWER HILL: 12.30 p.m.; Open-air meeting; Howard Whitten; City PPU Group.
LONDON, W.1: 7 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street; general members' meeting; A. Staniland on "Pacifists and COs"; PPU. Refreshments obtainable.
WARRINGTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps; FoR.

Wednesday, January 10
SOUTHEND, Essex: 7.30 p.m. Excelsior Club for Girls Hall, Victoria Avenue (opposite Public Library); Dr. Albert Beldon; PPU.
WAKEFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Thornhill Street; M. Jean Inebnit and Mr. K. Heaton on "International Voluntary Service for Peace"; PPU.
CROXLEY GREEN: 8 p.m. Methodist Church Hall, New Road; J. Lindner on "The Jew and the World Today"; PPU.
BAYSWATER: 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; America 2; Mrs. Ruth Durant on "International Affairs—Politics"; PPU.
FOREST GATE: 8 p.m. Barclay Hall, Green Street; East London Pacifist Rally; Revs. Leslie Keeble and H. N. Horne on "The Task of Pacifism Now"; PPU, FoR, Methodist Peace Fellowship, &c.
LUTON: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Castle Street; Humphrey Moore; PPU.

Thursday, January 11
FINCHLEY: 7.15 p.m. North Finchley Congregational Hall, Nether Street; Rev. Leslie Artingstall on "Christian Pacifism and the Present Situation"; FoR and PPU.

Friday, January 12
LINCOLN: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Old Meeting House, Park Street; Sidney Gibbon on "Then would my servants fight..."; PPU.
EWELL, Surrey: 8 p.m. Scouts' H.Q. (trear of Post Office, High Street); J. Fear (United Christian Petition Movement) on "Christians Awake"; PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; inter-member discussion on "Non-Violent Resistance"; PPU.
STRATFORD: 8 p.m. Conference Hall, West Ham Lane; A. D. Hewlett on "A New World Conference"; PPU.

Saturday, January 13
OLDHAM: 2.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps; FoR.
WORCESTER: 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Sansome Walk; Andrew Stewart on "The Lesson of Clackmannan"; PPU.
LEEDS: 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane; social; 1s. each; PPU.
LONDON, W.1: 7 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street; General Members' meeting; refreshments; PPU. This meeting is instead of the one arranged for January 6.

Sunday, January 14
EXETER: 3.15 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, Northernhay Place (two doors above Plaza Cinema); Devon Regional annual meeting; PPU. If attending please inform Miss G. L. Thorne, 21 Prospect Park, Exeter, stating if tea required.

LETTERS TO OTHER EDITORS

Capitalism in Decline
... the capitalist world is breaking up at an extremely rapid rate. I think it is demonstrable that the area of social and economic collapse within the capitalist system will be extended enormously during the next few years, and indeed that the world will not be able to function much longer except on the basis of socialized communities working in close co-operation. That is one reason why I am in favour of stopping the war and embarking upon a policy of far-reaching economic co-operation with Germany and Russia. Needless to say, such a policy involves national economic planning and control here. It would do two important things: save this country from totalitarianism, and put the totalitarian States on the only road by which they can regain their freedom. As economic breakdown was responsible for the loss of liberty, the distribution of abundance will provide the conditions for its return.
WILFRED WELLOCK.
Manchester Guardian, January 1.

What needs to be remembered is that 14 years of hopeless struggling against poverty and impossible economic conditions, and the prospect of a second national bankruptcy after Ottawa, finally broke down belief in democracy in Germany, and caused Nazism and Communism to run neck and neck for power.
After 1932 Germany's economic life was paralysed. What has happened since is part of the price we (and Europe) are having to pay for such tragedies as I have named.
As the cause of this upheaval was economic, I suggest that we should concentrate on securing economic justice and appeasement. Not till then can political problems be resolved.
WILFRED WELLOCK.
Daily Herald, December 30.

The Controllers
Reader Fox condemned Emergency Powers Act, and declared monopoly capitalists were in charge of Government departments.
Picture Post, December 9.

Actually, capitalists have been called in as Government advisors, or controllers. According to *The Economist*, "With very few exceptions, each controller has been selected from the trade he controls." Thus, Sir Hubert Carr, late managing director of Balmer, Laurie & Co., tea firm, is head tea controller; Mr. J. F. Bodinarr, member of Bacon Development Board, chairman of Bacon Marketing Board and bacon companies, is head bacon and ham controller; Lord Nuffield, as Director-General of Maintenance, is responsible for R.A.F. Supplies and Repairs; Sir Andrew Duncan, President of the Iron and Steel Federation, controls iron and steel supplies and prices.
—Editorial Note to reader's letter,
Picture Post, December 30.

Conscience
... in place of "conscience" we should understand the person as a whole making a moral decision. It is the personality, the man, with all his data of knowledge from education, with all the moral training and spiritual influences which have been shed upon him (or with the unfortunate deficiency of these, for which he may not be responsible), and with the anxious thought which the seriousness of the matter imposes upon him, judging as to what is right or wrong for him in this matter of taking part in war... No-one and no power, not even the State, must interpose between a man and his Maker, or, if he is a Christian, between him and what he feels to be the way of Christ, or, if he is not religious, between him and his honest, hard-won moral decision.
JOHN MURPHY,
Manchester Guardian, December 27.

"Common sense," who regards COs as "trench dodgers," chooses a simplified approach to life and problems that the pacifist cannot, in the depth of his belief in principle, accept.
We believe that within our own society exists the will of selfish nationalism that results in war.
Standing by the higher principles of humanity, we dissociate ourselves from war. That is not "trench dodging." It is a stand for values over and above the issues of this war, which need courage and vision to withstand the pressure of events and intolerance.
THOMAS ELDRIDGE,
Daily Herald, December 28.

Peace Cannot Be Bought
Sir,—Writing in his book, "War and the Christian," Canon C. E. Raven remarks: "Lord Ponsonby, Lord Russell, Mr. Aldous Huxley, Mr. Gerald Heard, Mr. Middleton Murry, and the Bishop of Birmingham are men whose intellectual power is probably greater than that of any other group in the public life of Britain. Where they, each from his special angle, have vindicated pacifism, they deserve a fuller answer than the casual comments of ecclesiastics and statesmen, and it might be added, of the political correspondents of provincial newspapers."
Thrice, within almost as many weeks, Mr. Raymond Burns has abused the pacifists without giving any constructive criticism of their case, or adequately explaining what it is, namely, that war is as futile as it is ferocious, that it can and should be abolished. If proof be needed of war's futility, it comes from the mouths of Mr. Burns's own masters: "War wins nothing, cures nothing, ends nothing," says Mr. Chamberlain. "In war, whatever side may call itself the victor, there are no winners, but all are losers." And M. Daladier echoes: "If French and German blood flows anew, as 25 years ago, in a

We propose to give under this heading excerpts from letters to editors of other journals which we believe would be of interest to readers of "Peace News." We cordially invite cuttings, especially from the local Press, for inclusion. Each cutting should bear the name of the periodical from which it was taken, together with the date of publication.

still longer and more murderous war, then each side will fight confident of its own victory; but destruction and barbarity will be the surest victors."
And what they said then is still true.
"There will be no hope of peace (it is Sir Philip Gibbs writing) until the peoples of the world recognize their brotherhood and refuse to be led to the shambles for mutual massacre." "Detestable counsel," Mr. Burns will say, but it is none the less true that only when a great nation, which could fight and has cause to do so, refuses the way of war, and, for the sake of humanity everywhere, makes any and every sacrifice for peace, that there will be set loose a moral force able to bring the world out of the embattled mists into the clear sunshine.
This is not peace at any price, for peace is not to be bought, but only to be won at tremendous cost. War cannot win it at any cost—the statesmen admit the fact; pacifism, I believe, can.
JOHN H. LUNDY,
Sunderland Echo, December 21 (excerpt).

Why, Oh Why...?
Why does not the League of Nations call on all nations to defend Albania, Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia, Manchuria and China, as well as Finland?
HONESTY,
Daily Herald, December 27.

★
If England is so interested in the rights of small nations, can you tell me why we did not go to the rescue of Albania?
AUDREY WESTON (aged 10),
Picture Post, December 30.

★
Christmas Gifts to War Prisoners
Sir Ernest Swinton, in his war commentary of last Thursday, admonished certain friendly spirits who had been sending gifts to our prisoners of war. I wonder why; for the speaker's justification of his attitude did not appear to me very conclusive. So far as those prisoners are concerned the war is at an end. Then why not cease to regard them as enemies and treat them as neutrals? Probably none of them went to war willingly, or harboured any ill-will towards us—any more than either we or our forces are supposed to harbour ill-will towards German nationals. So what more natural or more in accord with the spirit of Christmas than to send these expressions of good will—all this apart from what a much-revered Book says as to the Christian treatment of enemies?
In the last war I was allowed to take presents to German friends in internment, and to spend some time in friendly talk. Such things gave great comfort and were never forgotten. When the BBC exhorts us not only to pray for our enemies but actually to join them in praying for the coming of peace, surely there is some inconsistency in the admonition in question.
T. ARTHUR LEONARD,
Manchester Guardian,
December 28 (excerpt).

Classified Advertisements

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To Let
ALEXANDRA PALACE Station (5 minutes), ground floor; 3 rooms, scullery, 22s. 6d.; PPU. —26, Vallance Road, N.22.
WIDOWER—member of the PPU wishes to share fully furnished six-roomed house with mother and daughter or married couple. Terms moderate. Good references.—Minter 138 West Hill Gardens, Radstock, Bath.
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FOR SALE
PRINTING PRESS with Type, 22s. 6d. Bargain. Prints tickets, memos, leaflets.—Particulars, W. Webster, 291a Normanton Road, Derby.
HEALTH AND MEDICAL
MISS J. D. WALLINGTON (and Mrs. Helen Whitticom), health practitioner, osteopath, bone-setter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods. Consultations by appointment, 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1 (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way North, Letchworth (Letchworth 111).
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TO BE LET ON LEASE. About 20 acres arable and grazing land, 8 acres wood and two cottages five minutes walk apart, on road frontages. Very suitable for chicken farm or agriculture. One cottage high ground, 3 bedrooms, living room, kitchen, bath, scullery, verandah; the other adjoining wooden huts useful for livestock. H. and C. water in both.—Write Owner, Rounsley Farm, Blackboys, Sussex.
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ENVELOPES printed with Pacifist quotations. Sample 25 (assorted) 1s.—Ronald Monaghan, Brotherhood Church, Stapleton, Pontefract.
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PRINTING of any description. Cheapest house in country for leaflets, &c. Speedy delivery.—Gait & Son, Shipley, Yorks. Entirely PPU.
SITUATIONS
Vacant
WANTED IMMEDIATELY male or female shorthand typist with knowledge of French for Carlisle office. State age, experience, and salary required.—Box 290, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.
Wanted
EDUCATED SINGLE WOMAN, 30, any domestic, nursery, or institutional work where freedom and Christian pacifism valued.—Briscoe Vicarage, East Cowes, Isle of Wight.

SITUATIONS WANTED (continued)
C.O., 22, Electrical Mechanical Engineer qualifications, experienced, urgently requires work. Anywhere.—119 Richmond Park Road, East Sheen, S.W.14.
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PACIFIST (23) urgently requires work of any description. Knowledge of Builders' Quantities. Would welcome agricultural work.—Moore, 14a Moorhall Gardens, Denham, Bucks.
PACIFIST (25) electrical engineer (laboratory). Experienced shorthand, typing, journalism. Car driver. Willing try anything.—Farmer, 45 Crossways, Addington, Surrey.
PACIFIST, Graduate Teacher (23) wants any work compatible with conscience. Some experience agriculture.—Box 284, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.
PACIFIST journalist (typing, shorthand), 26, single, wants work, not necessarily journalistic, preferably in or near London.—Box 288, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.
PERSONAL ASSISTANT, organizing secretary or junior executive; London or country. Young woman, pacifist; 6 years' experience, organizing, publicity, executive work, interviewing, correspondence, accounts, shorthand typing, driving; interested in people, theatre, and other arts, non-party politics, humanitarian work.—Box 289, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.
SECRETARY-ORGANISER-LECTURER (PPU) wants part-time employment. Wide secretarial and business experience; good knowledge progressive movements.—Robert M. Entwistle, 25 Stoneyfields Lane, Edgware, Middlesex.
TYPEWRITING
BEST RIBBON now costs only 2s. 0d. postage paid. State typewriter, colour(s).—Lamb's, Adelphi Chambers, Preston.
FIRST-CLASS TYPEWRITING and Duplicating.—Mabel Eyles, 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, London, S.E.24. Brixton 2863.
WHERE TO STAY
PENZANCE for safety. Homely board residence or apartments. Highly recommended. Terms moderate.—Carter, 16 Tolver Road, Penzance, Cornwall.
YOUTH HOUSE. Residential and social centre for progressive youth. Vegetarian restaurant; lectures, dances, language classes, rambles, &c. Internationalism and fellowship in active communal life. Single bed-sitting-rooms, 15s. per week.—Apply Secretary, 250 Camden Road, N.W.1. Gulliver 5182.

Cry From The Heart

"Heaven help the Stock Exchange if it is peace!"—Prominent British broker, quoted in the "Financial News," three days before Great Britain's entry into war.

CIRCULATION DOUBLED IN ONE YEAR

THE circulation of the last two issues of *Peace News*, although reflecting the drop usually experienced at this time of the year, is almost double the circulation of the two issues published this time last year. The final figure for the December 22 issue was 33,674, while up to last Tuesday the circulation of the December 29 number had reached 33,425.

A Cheadle Hulme reader suggests that "Groups selling *Peace News* should place their orders with as many local newsagents as possible and get each one to display a poster saying that *Peace News* can be bought there."

Meanwhile financial support is also very important. Contributions to the *Peace News* Fund for the past two weeks totalled £13 19s. 9d. bringing the grand total up to £396 14s. 6d.

(The "*Peace News*" fund was launched to release for some other branch of the *Peace Pledge Union's* activity the subsidy at present paid to "*Peace News*." Donations of any size will be welcomed and individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to *Peace News, Ltd.*, and not to the *Peace Pledge Union*, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4).

PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

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Note to Newsagent:—

"PEACE NEWS" is published weekly as a National Newspaper at the retail price of 2d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 186 5.1.40

Dr. Alfred Salter . . . continued from page one

1940 NEED NOT BE A YEAR OF WAR

main hope of the Franco-British alliance is to starve out Germany so that the increasing misery of her people will lead them to revolt against Hitler.

If that occurs the revolution will inevitably be Communist, and will command the support of Russia. A gigantic Russo-German Communist bloc, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will result. An entirely new situation will be created, the effect of which no man can foretell.

Make no mistake! A three years' war will bring down both this country and the whole of Europe in utter economic ruin.

Unexplored Possibilities

On December 15, M. Tanner, Finland's Foreign Minister, in a radio appeal to Stalin, referring to the Russian invasion of his country, said: "The first sixteen days have already shown that the war will be fierce and will claim many victims. Why should blood continue to be shed as long as there are other possibilities still unexplored?"

I ask the same question in regard to the war in which we are engaged with Germany.

I urge wives and mothers, whose menfolk are being torn from their homes and thrown into the hell cauldron, to ask themselves and to ask everyone else that same question.

I advise every sane citizen to face up to that issue and not to be bamboozled by the warmongers with slogans about "freedom" and "democracy."

I suggest that every man and woman who wants to save civilization from chaos should demand that his or her Member of Parliament faces up to that question and answers it.

Our Responsibility

There are "other possibilities" still unexplored. Two neutral sovereigns have offered mediation and will help to call a World Conference at which belligerents and neutrals will participate. Chamberlain & Co., encouraged by the jingoism of the Liberal and Labour Parties, have turned down the suggestion.

CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE TERMS

The National Peace Council has circulated 40,000 copies of an appeal for a "Declaration of Terms of Peace."

The appeal urges the British Government, in consultation with France and the Dominions, to indicate as explicitly as possible the sort of peace at which it aims, and to announce its willingness to enter into a conference of belligerent and neutral Powers.

Will those who are sympathetic bring the appeal to the notice of any local body with which they are associated—church, trade union, women's guild, peace group, &c.—at the earliest moment? Copies can be obtained from the National Peace Council at 39 Victoria Street, S.W.1, without charge.

"The White Art of Non-Violence"

"If it is possible to train millions in the black art of violence which is the law of the beast, it is more possible to train them in the white art of non-violence which is the law of regenerate man.

"Human dignity is best preserved . . . by refusing to retaliate.

" . . . I would at once ask the English to lay down arms, free all their vassals, . . . Englishmen will then die unresistingly and go down to history as heroes of non-violence. I would further invite Indians to co-operate with Englishmen in this godly martyrdom. It will be an indissoluble partnership drawn up in letters of the blood of their own bodies, not of their so-called enemies."

—Mr. M. K. Gandhi, in *Harijan*, September 30.

If Britain announces herself as willing to enter such a conference there is every reason to believe that Germany will agree, and an armistice could be signed and the bloodshed ended. However awkward and unreasonable Hitler might be he would find himself without backing in that Assembly of Great and Small Powers. He would find himself, too, without the support of his own people if just and decent terms were offered to Germany.

I go further and say that Hitler would not be able to induce the Germans to start fighting again if the terms really were just and decent.

But the Chamberlain and Daladier Governments, having once committed themselves to war, are not going to offer just and decent terms. Chamberlain flatly refuses to state our Peace Terms except in language that may mean anything or nothing and which only serve to rally the German people behind Hitler.

Britain means to keep her colonial possessions and her monopoly of imperialist markets.

Our Noble Task

Oh, the madness, the senselessness, the cruelty of it all!

Pathetic scenes are being witnessed, both in England and in Germany, when members of the enemy nation have been killed and are buried "with full military honours." Kindly, tender words are spoken of the fallen and wreaths are laid as they are committed to their graves. They are "comrades" and "brother men."

Then, by command of the bellicose politicians, the soldiers, sailors and airmen taking part in the ceremony are ordered off to start killing as many more as they can.

How can we go on perpetrating this bestiality of war?

How dare we go on deliberately defacing God's image in our fellow men?

Let us work for a speedy peace with all our might and main!

We cannot consecrate our energies to a nobler or holier task.

More "Stop War" Demands

A "War and the Workers" conference organized by the Norwich ILP revealed a powerful and growing anti-war feeling.

Over 100 delegates representing, among others, the Norwich Labour Party and Trades Council, ILP Women's Co-operative Guild, PPU and many local Trade Union branches, passed with enthusiastic unanimity a resolution moved by Fenner Brockway condemning the war, calling for an immediate armistice and urging a world conference.

An amendment from the Norwich Group of the PPU urging the workers to refuse to support the war found strong support from the delegates and was incorporated in the final resolution.

"It is the earnest desire of this meeting that immediate steps should be taken to end the war. We believe that the peaceful reconstruction of Europe will be infinitely more difficult after a prolonged and bitter war." That was the resolution carried at a meeting of forty people held privately in the Tolley Rise district of Sheffield and addressed by Mr. Frank Lee, Labour MP for North Derbyshire, and the Rev. Pendril Bentall.

Many members of the Labour Party were present and severely criticized its policy.

The meeting was arranged by local members of the Peace Pledge Union and a few others who were opposed to war.

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ASK YOUR NEWSAGENT TO DELIVER "PEACE NEWS" EVERY WEEK

Leading French War Resister Court-Martialled: 4 Years In Jail

HENRI ROSER, secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconstruction in France, surrendered himself to the military authorities under the French general mobilization order in September, and has been under arrest since that time as a conscientious objector. News has now come through that, on December 19, he was court-martialled and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. No details of the trial are at present available.

Henri Roser acknowledges very gratefully many letters from friends in England, who will understand that he is not permitted to answer them personally. He asks that his thanks may be expressed to those who, by their messages, have longed to bear witness to their communion of prayer and of faith—"that communion which is so sweet a comfort in moments of difficulty and also the anticipation of the brotherly humanity which we seek."

Norway Demonstrates Against War

From EIVIND ERICHSEN

OSLO, Norway.

SOME students of the University of Oslo gathered one morning around the radio in the University's dining hall to listen to the latest news from Finland.

The news was alarming. The Red Army were marching across the border, aeroplanes were bombing Helsinki and Viborg.

No words can express the feelings of the group around the radio. Then one of the students rose and said: "Let's show the people of Finland what we feel for them; let's all go to the Finnish Consulate."

No cause had ever united the students in Oslo as did this call. A few minutes later more than a thousand students went silently out into the rain to show their sympathy for friends in need.

This students' demonstration was just one of the many ways in which the Norwegian people have shown what they feel in these terrible days; and it is not only Finland that concerns the Norwegian people today.

Thus, on December 10, the women in Oslo made a great demonstration for "peace and reconciliation between the peoples." At the climax of this demonstration more than 4,000 women were present.

Let us get a conference before the war creates still more hatred, was the demand from the women's meeting.

They All Claim God's Help

A short anthology of up-to-date quotations from leading people in a number of countries, showing how each side in a war claims the support of God, is one of the interesting features of the December issue of *War Commentary*.

Published by Freedom Press Distributors, 9 Newbury Street, London, E.C.1, the second number of this anarchist monthly also contains an article on India, by Reginald Reynolds, and articles on the effect of war on the press.

The Life of a Man

"And you, O man, who will consider in this labour of mine the wonderful works of nature, if you think it would be a criminal thing to destroy this, her work, reflect how much more criminal it is to take the life of a man; and if this, his external form, appears to you marvelously constructed, remember that it is nothing in comparison with the soul that dwells in this structure; for that, indeed, be it what it may, is a thing divine. Leave it then to dwell in His work at His good will and pleasure, and let not your rage or malice destroy a life—for, indeed, he who does not value it does not himself deserve it."

—Leonardo da Vinci.

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